

We cannot and must not concede any battlefield to our enemies in this most unconventional but deadly serious war.

I do not think it is an overstatement to say that our freedom and security and that of most of the rest of the world, Muslim and non-Muslim, depends now, as it has at critical moments in the past, on American persistence and fortitude in this painful, awful, essential worldwide war.

For these reasons, I will respectfully oppose the Levin amendment and the amendment introduced by Senators KERRY and FEINGOLD.

I thank the Chair. I yield the floor.

Mr. WARNER. Mr. President, I will say to my good friend and colleague—and my remarks are not predicated on the fact in all likelihood that he will cast a vote which will be supportive of the views that this Senator and others on this side of the aisle have stated, but I say out of the long time that we have worked together to those Senators who may not remember it that I was tasked to draw up the first resolution in the Gulf War when George Bush, Sr., was President. The Senator from Connecticut stepped up and joined me. It was known as the Warner-Lieberman amendment at that time.

Subsequently, when the second resolution was to be drawn up, I again was joined by Senator LIEBERMAN, Senator MCCAIN, and Senator BAYH. The four of us drew that one up.

He has been on the Senate Armed Services Committee these many years that he has served in the Senate, and he has shown tremendous leadership. And each day he grows in stature as a statesman and his stature as a knowledgeable person regarding the security interests of this country.

As they exist today and in the future—when I say “in the future,” for our children and grandchildren—they acknowledge their appreciation to the Senator from Connecticut for his wisdom.

The remainder of time under my control I yield to the Senator from Pennsylvania.

The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Senator from Pennsylvania is recognized.

Mr. SANTORUM. Mr. President, first, I would like to associate myself with the remarks made by the Senator from Virginia. If I could, I would like to also associate myself with the remarks made by the Senator from Connecticut. I agree with him wholeheartedly. They were incredibly articulately made and hits on all of the relevant points as to why these two amendments should be defeated.

I actually want to talk about a different debate which has been brewing on the floor of the Senate for over 3 years. That is the debate as to the reasons why we entered into a war in Iraq in the first place. There was some information released today that I think sheds some light as to the facts relating to what the conditions were in Iraq prior to our commencing the Iraq war.

The essential nature of the decision that we made at the time when we had

to decide whether to go to war with Iraq was based on many factors. Colin Powell laid them out at the United Nations. One was that Saddam had possessed and had used biological and chemical weapons on his people and that he had biological. That is indisputable.

The second was that he had an active WMD program. And we have the Iraqi Survey Group which published the Delta Report. It was very clear in the Delta Report that, in fact, there was ongoing research at the time of the Iraq war, and if that research of those sanctions were lifted it could have quickly turned into a full-fledged biological and chemical warfare capability.

In fact, the Delta Report mentioned that they could, postsanctions, reconstitute anthrax and an anthrax program in 4 weeks.

So he already used chemical weapons and had chemical weapons research that could quickly be transitioned into programs.

The one aspect that has been in question or which most Americans find—and certainly many have spoken on the floor of the Senate—was whether at the time of the Iraq war back in 2003 Saddam Hussein had weapons of mass destruction. That was always the claim—that he had not gotten rid of his weapons of mass destruction and potentially produced additional weapons of mass destruction.

Up until today, the general perception of the American public—and certainly Members in this Chamber—was that there were no such weapons of mass destruction.

In fact, today on the floor of the Senate, the Senator from Rhode Island said, “We have heard the initial defense of the approach to Iraq as we are going after weapons of mass destruction. They were not there.”

The senior Senator from Connecticut said, “If I had known then what I now know, namely that Saddam Hussein possessed no weapons of mass destruction, I would not have given the President my vote.”

The senior Senator from Washington said, “We have looked for weapons of mass destruction and found none.”

Let me follow up these quotes with quotes from an unclassified version of a document released 3 hours ago coming from the National Ground Intelligence Center, a part of the Department of Defense. It is a summary of a classified document which I have had the opportunity to take a look at.

The document's key points in the unclassified version are as follows:

Since 2003, coalition forces have recovered approximately 500 weapons, munitions which contain degraded mustard or sarin nerve agents. Despite many efforts to locate and destroy Iraq's pre-gulf war chemical munitions, filled and unfilled pre-gulf war chemical munitions are assessed and still exist.

That means that in addition to the 500 that we have recovered, there are additional munitions.

The report goes into great detail as to what those munitions are. There are additional munitions that we have not categorized and identified specifically in number or in character.

Back to the document:

Pre-gulf war Iraq chemical weapons could be sold on the black market. Use of these weapons by terrorists or insurgent groups would have implications for coalition forces in Iraq. The possibility of use outside of Iraq cannot be ruled out. The most likely munitions remaining are sarin- and mustard-filled projectiles. The purity of the agents inside the munitions depend on many factors, including the manufacturing process, potential additives, and environmental storage conditions. While agents degrade over time, chemical warfare agents remain hazardous and potentially lethal. It has been reported in the open press that insurgents in Iraqi groups desire to acquire and use chemical weapons.

This is an incredibly significant document.

We now have a lot from our intelligence agencies that said we have recovered 500 chemical weapons and that there are a number of others.

It is hopeful that we can, in fact, get that number and that information out.

But the bottom line is, irrespective of whether there were any others, the fact that we recovered 500 and the fact that there are a likelihood of others to recover, maybe from Iraq, maybe from other places around the Middle East, suggests that Saddam Hussein did have weapons of mass destruction.

One of the principal concerns that we had in going into this war against terror, or terrorists as it has been defined, was that Saddam would not necessarily use chemical weapons or biological weapons against his neighbors again or against us, but, more importantly, that he would have these stockpiles of weapons to give to terrorists to use against us or to use against others. Now we have information that confirms that some 500, and likely more, weapons were, in fact, in Iraq at the time of the Iraq war.

The quotes that there were no chemical weapons, that the President lied, that all of this was a fabrication of neocons who wanted to go to war, is now—if it was not, in my mind, discredited from the other information we have gotten—is now, in my mind, completely discredited. He had chemical weapons before the gulf war. He used them after the gulf war. He used them during the Iran-Iraq war. They had weapons programmed in place at the time of the second gulf war, the Iraq conflict. And we now have found stockpiles.

The Duelfer report said there were no stockpiles. We have now found 500. You want to call that a stockpile? Five hundred is a lot of chemical weapons. We handed out a video upstairs, Congressman HOEKSTRA and I—who has been tremendously helpful in gathering this information and having this report, first finding the report and declassifying portions of it—he handed out information that showed an attack of the Iraqis using 15 sarin chemical